

Message Text

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PAGE 01 KINSHA 00137 071521Z

53

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-15 IO-10 AID-05 PC-05 SAM-01 NEA-09 EB-07

FEAE-00 COME-00 CIEP-02 EA-10 ACDA-10 OMB-01 CU-04

A-01 NIC-01 AGR-10 FRB-01 TRSE-00 XMB-04 OPIC-06

LAB-04 SIL-01 /166 W

----- 080795

R 071450Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0752

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

UNCLAS KINSHASA 0137

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: CG, PINT, ECON

SUBJ: "REVOLUTION WITHIN A REVOLUTION"

REF: KINSHASA 11024

1. ON JANUARY 4 MOBUTU DELIVERED YEAR END ADDRESS TO CLOSING SESSION OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL IN WHICH HE SUMMARIZED ZAIRE'S FOREIGN POLICY AND OUTLINED NEW INTERNAL POLICY GOALS. NOTING THAT THIS WAS LAST SESSION OF 420-MAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL WHOSE NUMBER TO BE CUT IN HALF NEXT SESSION, MOBUTU THANKED ALL FOR THEIR COOPERATION AND ANNOUNCED THAT THOSE NOT RETURNED TO COULCIL WOULD BE CALLED TO OTHER PARTY RESPONSIBILITIES.

2. FOREIGN POLICY. REVIEWING EVENTS OF 1974, MOBUTU NOTED
UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 02 KINSHA 00137 071521Z

PROGRESS OF DECOLONIZATION IN AFRICA. SAID YEAR HAD SEEN

END OF EQUILIBRIUM MAINTAINED BY BIG POWERS DURING PREVIOUS DECADES. AFFIRMED ZAIRE'S ACTIVE SUPPORT OF ALL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ANGOLA AND HOLDEN'S FNLA. VIGOROUSLY DENIED (PRESUMABLY RECENT) CHARGES "IN EUROPEAN CIRCLES" OF INTERFERENCE BY ZAIRE IN BURUNDI AFFAIRS IN 1972, INSISTING THAT ZAIRE'S BRIEF INTERVENTION HAD BEEN AT BURUNDI'S REQUEST. RECALLED ZAIRE'S "AFRICAN VOCATION" AND ISSUED SOS TO ALL AFRICAN STATES ON BEHALF SAHEL. PROMISED ZAIRE WOULD DO ITS PART TO EXTENT POSSIBLE. REAFFIRMED GOZ SOLIDARITY WITH ARABS WHICH HE SAID BASED ON FACT THERE ARE MANY ARAB COUNTRIES IN AFRICA, AND ARABS ARE BROTHERS WHO MUST BE FREED FROM ZIONIST IMPERIALISM. SAID THOSE WHO REPROACH ARABS FOR LACK OF CONCESSIONS ON OIL SEEK TO SEPARATE AFRICA FROM HER SUREST ALLIES. THIS QUESTION IS STRICTLY AN ARAB-AFRICAN AFFAIR, AND NO CONCERN OF OTHERS. NEVERTHELESS ARABS SHOULD HELP AFRICANS FINANCIALLY. MOBUTU SAID IF AFRO-ARAB SOLIDARITY ACHIEVED, AFRICAN AND MIDDLE EAST WILL CONSTITUTE "GREAT FORCE OF TOMORROW". RECALLED ZAIRE'S DECISION TO PURSUE NON-ALIGNED POLICY, AND THUS TO RECOGNIZE BOTH KOREAS, BOTH VIETNAMS, BOTH GERMANIES WHILE HOPING FOR REUNIFICATION IN EACH CASE. ZAIRE DESIRES FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL ON SOLE CONDITION THAT THERE BE NO INTERFERENCE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

3. WARNING TO EMBASSIES. IN BRIEF ASIDE, MOBUTU SAID FOREIGN COMMERCIAL AND CULTURAL ATTACHES ARE NOT HERE TO SPREAD SUBVERSION UNDER COVER OF DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY. GOZ SECURITY FORCES ARE ELERT AND DIPLOMATS WHO TRANGRESS WILL BE EXPELLED AND THEIR ZAIRIAN COLLABORATORS WILL BE PARADED AT MASS RALLIES.

4. INTERNAL. MOBUTU RECALLED SUCH 1974 HIGHLIGHTS AS CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION OF LAST AUGUST AND OPENING SESSION OF THE MAKANDA KOBABI INSTITUTE. DESCRIBED 1974 AS NOTABLE ALSO FOR SPORTS, MENTIONING ALI-FOREMAN FIGHT AS EVENT WHICH HAD PUT ZAIRE ON MAP WORLDWIDE - DESPITE WOULD-BE DETRACTORS AND SABOTEURS. HE SAID 1975 WOULD MARK 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF REVOLUTION AND WOULD BE YEAR OF ASSESSMENT AND NEW INITIATIVES. ATTRIBUTED HIS SUCCESS IN WELDING UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 KINSHA 00137 071521Z

NATIONAL UNITY OUT OF VAST, DIVERSE TERRITORY TO EXTENSIVE TRAVELS IN INTERIOR SO AS TO KNOW HIS PEOPLE AND THEY HIM. NOBUTU SAID ZAIRE'S REVOLUTIONARY THEORY IS "PERFECT", BUT NOT ITS PRACTICE. HE THEN TURNED TO DISCUSSION OF TEN MAJOR SHORTCOMING IDENTIFIED DURING THREE-DAY SESSION WITH POLITICAL BUREAU DECEMBER 27-30 (REFTEL).

5. TEN SOURGES

(A) FALSE FREEDOM: PERMITTING HANDFUL OF MEN TO EXPLOIT OTHER MEN WILL BE REPLACED BY DISCIPLINE IN ACCORDANCE WITH "AUTHENTICITY".

(B) AGRICULTURAL CRISIS: UNDER COLONIAL REGIME FARMING WAS HELD IN LOW ESTEEM CAUSING POPULATION TO DRIFT TO URBAN CENTERS. FARMING IS NOBLE, NECESSARY PURSUIT, BUT SYSTEM DENIES IT ITS RIGHTFUL PLACE. PEOPLE WILL BE MOBILIZED IN NEW TYPE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION COOPERATIVES. ROADS WILL BE IMPROVED. GOVERNMENT WILL PURSUE AND MARKET ALL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE.

(C) UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION: UNEMPLOYMENT IS FAULT OF THE SYSTEM. ZAIRE CANNOT WAIT INDEFINITELY FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT TO SOLVE PROBLEM. PEOPLE WILL BE MOBILIZED AND PUT TO USEFUL, PRODUCTIVE WORK. INFLATION IS PRODUCT OF CAPITALIST SYSTEM, PENALIZES WORKING MASSES. ZAIRE ELECTS TO CONTROL PRICES BY SUPPRESSING NOTION OF PROFIT BASED ON COST OF GOODS. NATIONALIZATION OF ALL MAJOR MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION (ZAIRIAN AS WELL AS FOREIGN) WILL AFFORD CONTROL NECESSARY TO REDUCE PRICES. (EXAMPLES CITED WERE HIGHLY VISIBLE ZAIRIAN FIRMS: SOCIETE GENERALE D'ALIMENTATION (FOOD IMPORTERS AND DISTRIBUTORS"), AFRICAN LUX (DEPARTMENT STORE, KINSHASA BUS COMPANY, ZAIRIAN FURNITURE FACTORY AND BANK OF KINSHASA. MOBUTU DID NOT MENTION EXCEPTION FOR INVESTMENT CODE FIRMS AS DID POLITICAL BUREAU (SEE REFTEL). IT IS UNTHINKABLE THAT 300 BELGIAN FAMILIES WHICH EXPLOITED COUNTRY BE REPLACED BY 300 ZAIRIAN FAMILIES.

(D) CONSUMER SOCIETY: LEFT AND RIGHT AGREE IN MATERIALIST UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 KINSHA 00137 071521Z

CONCEPTION OF LIFE, LEADING TO CONSUMER DISSATISFACTION AND USELESS PRODUCTION. ZAIRE WILL PLAN HER INDUSTRIALIZATION TO MEET REAL NEEDS WITHOUT DAMAGE TO ENVIRONMENT.

(E) EDUCATION AND YOUTH: ALL ZAIRIAN CHILDREN WILL RECEIVE SAME EDUCATION, SAME MILITARY AND POLITICAL TRAINING, ALL WITHIN SAME SYSTEM. NO LONGER ROOM FOR EDUCATIONAL EXTRAS, EVEN IF PARENTS PREPARED TO SACRIFICE. BY 1980 ALL CHILDREN WILL BE IN SCHOOL, WILL BE TAUGHT USEFUL TRADES. PARTY YOUTH GROUP JMPR TO BE HENCEFORTH OVERSEEN DIRECTLY BY PRESIDENT, AS IS MPR ITSELF.

(F) ARMY: NOW INTEGRATED INTO MPR, ARMY WILL BE INTEGRATED INTO PRODUCTIVE SYSTEM AND BECOME EXAMPLE TO OTHER AFRICAN ARMIES.

(G) SOCIAL INJUSTICE: MPR CADRES IGNORED PAST CRITICISMS AND ADVICE BUT THERE IS NO ROOM NOW FOR FURTHER STALLING. MOBUTU WORKS FOR PEOPLE, NOT FOR MPR CADRES. CADRES WILL HAND OVER TO STATE ALL BUSINESSES ACQUIRED UNDER ZAIRIANIZATION, OR OWNED BEFORE THAT. MOBUTU HAS DECLARED WAR ON THE BOURGEOISIE IN ZAIRE AND MPR CADRES MUST HAVE CLEAN HANDS AND CLEAR CONSCIENCES; WORK FOR GOOD OF ALL. "I ASK YOU TO CARRY ON, FOR GOOD OF THE PEOPLE, ONLY AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES".

(H) SOCIAL PROBLEMS: EVERY ZAIRIAN HAS RIGHT TO HOUSING, MEDICAL CARE, EDUCATION. NEW HOUSING CONSTRUCTION TO START IMMEDIATELY, SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS TO FOLLOW. GIVEN NEW STATE OWNERSHIP MEANS OF CONSTRUCTION AND WITH MOST MATERIALS ON HAND, ONLY FINANCIAL BURDEN WILL BE SMALL ONE OF PAYING LABOR COSTS. THIS PROGRAM WOULD BE AMBITIOUS IF JUDGED IN OLD-FASHIONED WAY, BUT WILL BE IMPLEMENTED THANKS TO HELP OF EACH ZAIRIAN.

(I) INDIVIDUALISM AND SELFISHNESS: NO PLACE FOR INDIVIDUALISM OR SELFISHNESS IN ZAIRIAN AUTHENTICITY. SOLIDARITY IS MAIN ELEMENT IN ZAIRIAN HUMANISM. HAPPINESS NOT TO BE READ IN FIGURES, BUT IN "FACES OF THE CHILDREN OF ZAIRE".

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PAGE 05 KINSHA 00137 071521Z

6. CONCLUSION. ALL 23 MILLION ZAIRIANS NEEDED TO EFFECT THIS "REVOLUTION WITHIN A REVOLUTION", THIS COMPLETE CHANGE OF SYSTEM. THIS IS WHY THOSE WHO ERRED HAVE BEEN PARDONED, WHY CIVIL SERVICE HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED. ALL HAVE BEEN UNITED IN COMMON EFFORT. MOST OF US HAD DIFFICULT AND UNHAPPY YOUTH. "THOUGH I AM YOUR CHIEF OF STATE, I CANNOT FORGET THAT I AM THE SON OF A COOK, A CHILD OF THE PEOPLE, EVEN A CHILD OF THE POOR PEOPLE". ZAIRE'S REVOLUTION IS TO BE UNIQUE. PRIVATE INITIATIVE WILL BE ENCOURAGED, BUT ONLY ON SMALL AND MEDIUM SCALE. THE LARGE ECONOMIC INITIATIVES ARE RESERVED TO THE STATE. THIS IS THE PRICE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE. I WILL NOT TOLERATE EXTREMES OF RICH AND POOR" "TRUST ME. I WILL NEVER BETRAY OUR REVOLUTION".
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NATIONALIZATION, AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, ECONOMIC STABILITY, GOVERNMENT REFORM, SPEECHES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 JAN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975KINSHA00137
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750006-0437
From: KINSHASA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750173/aaaacmhh.tel
Line Count: 216
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 KINSHASA 11024
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 04 MAR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <04 MAR 2003 by daviswcw>; APPROVED <12 FEB 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: REVOLUTION WITHIN A REVOLUTION
TAGS: PINT, ECON, CG, (MOBUTU, SESE SEKO)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006